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and discarded hupfs, a broken fictile figurine, etc), was the still ruder arrowpoint represented in figure 37*b* (both figures are natural size). The specimens are nearly identical in material—a jet-black slaty rock with a few lighter flecks interspersed, weathering gray on long exposure (as is shown by the partly natural surface of the larger point); similar rock abounds in several easterly spurs of Sierra Seri. The smaller specimen was evidently finished and used; its features indicate fairly skilful chipping, though its general form is crude—in addition to the asymmetric shouldering, the entire point is curved laterally in such manner as to interfere with accurate archery. The larger specimen is still more strongly curved laterally, and the chipping is childishly crude; while the rough surface, clumsy tang, and unfinished air indicate that it was never used even to the extent of shafting. It is possible that the specimens may have been imported by aliens, but the probabilities are strong that they were manufactured by the Seri. No other arrowpoints and no chips or spalls suggesting stone arrow-making were found in all Seriland, though the entire party of twelve were on constant lookout for them for a month. The natural inference from these facts is that the ancestral Seri, like their descendants, were not habitual stone arrow-makers.

There is a final category of Seri artifacts which would be classed as distinctive by Caucasians on the basis of material, though they are combined with the stone artifacts by the tribesmen; it comprises arrow-points of hoop-iron or other metal, harpoon-points of nails, spikes, or wire, awls of like materials, and other metallic adjuncts to ordinary implements. The use of iron is of course post-Columbian, and its ordinary sources are wreckage and stealage. The date of introduction is unknown, and probably goes back to the days of Cortés and Mendoza; certainly the value of metal was so well understood in 1709 that when Padre Salvatierra's bilander was beached in Seriland the tribesmen at once began to break her up for the nails (ante, page 67); yet the metal is wrought cold and only with hupf and abat like the local materials, and is habitually regarded and designated as a stone. By reason of the primitive methods of working, the metals are of course available only when in small pieces or slender shapes. There is a tradition among the vaqueros of the frontier that a quantity of hoop-iron designed for use in making casks was carried away from a rancheria in the vicinity of Bacanchito during a raid in the seventies, and that this stock has ever since served to supply the Seri with material for their arrowpoints; but it is probable that the chief supply is derived from the flotsam swept into the natural drift trap of Bahia Kunkaak by prevailing winds and tidal currents, and cast up on the long sandspit of Punta Tormenta after every storm. A surprising quantity and variety of wreckage was found on this point, and thence down the coast to Punta Narragansett, by the 1895 expedition: staves and heads of casks broken up after beaching, a telegraph pole crossbar which had evidently

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177 brought in a cargo of large wire, and a piece of door-frame with heavy
502 strap-iron hinges attached with screws, were among the troves of the tribesmen within a few weeks; and it was noted that while even the hinge screws and the tacks attaching tags to the cask-heads had been extracted by breaking up the wood, the roughly forged hinges of 2 by ½-inch wrought iron had been abandoned after a tentative battering with cobbles, and lay among the refuse stones about the jacales.

412 A rough census of the stone implements of Seriland is not without interest, even though it be no more than an approximation. Some 20 or 25 habitable and recently inhabited jacales were visited, with about twice as many more in various stages of ruin, fully two-thirds of these being on the island; and at least an equal number of camps or other houseless sites were noted. About these 150 jacales and sites there were, say, 50 ahsts, ranging from nearly natural bowlders to the comparatively well-wrought specimen illustrated in plate XXXIX, and an equal number of cobbles used interchangeably as ahsts and hupfs; there were also 200 or 300 pebbles bearing traces of use as hupfs, of which about a third were worn so decidedly as to attest repeated if not regular use; while no flaked or spalled implements were observed save the two doubtful examples illustrated in plates XLVII and L, and only two chipped arrowpoints. It may be assumed that the sites visited and the artifacts observed comprise from a tenth to a fifth of those of all Seriland, in addition to, say, 75 finished hupfs habitually carried by Seri matrons in their wanderings; and it may be assumed also that 50 or 100 metallic harpoon-points and several hundred hoop-iron arrowpoints are habitually carried by the warriors and their spouses.

[324] The most impressive fact brought out by this census is the practical absence of stone artifacts wrought by flaking or chipping in accordance with preconceived design; excepting the exceedingly rare arrow-points there are none of these. And the assemblage of wrought stones demonstrates not merely that the Seri are practically without flaked or chipped implements, but that they eschew and discard stones edged by fracture whether naturally or through accident of use.

Summarily, the Seri artifacts of inorganic material fall into three groups, viz: (I) The large and characteristic one comprising regularly-used hupfs and ahsts, with their little-used and discarded representatives; (II) the small and aberrant group represented by chipped arrow-points, and (III) the considerable group comprising the cold-wrought metal points for arrows and harpoons and awls—though it is to be remembered that the Seri themselves combine the second and third of these groups.

I. On reviewing the artifacts of the larger group it becomes clear (1) that they immediately reflect environment, in that they are characteristic natural objects of the territory; (2) that they come into use as implements through chance demands met by hasty selection from the

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abundant material; (3) that the great majority of the objects so employed are discarded after a use or two; (4) that when the object proves especially serviceable, and other conditions favor, it is retained to meet later needs; (5) that the retained objects are gradually modified in form and surface by repeated use; (6) that if the modification diminishes the serviceability of the object in the notion of the user (e. g., by such fracture as to produce sharp edges), it is discarded; (7) that if the modification enhances the serviceability of the specimen in the mind of the user it is the more sedulously preserved; and (8) that through the instinctive desire for perservation, coupled with the thaumaturgic cast of primitive thinking, the object acquires at once an artificialized form and a fetishistic as well as a utilitarian function. The significant feature of the development is the total absence of foresight or design, save in so far as the concepts are fiducial rather than technical or directly industrial.

II. On reviewing the almost insignificantly small group of chipped stone artifacts, it seems clear that while the material is local the design is so incongruous with custom and characteristic thought as to raise the presumption that stone-chipping is an alien and imperfectly assimilated craft. The conspicuous and significant feature of the chipped stone artifact is the shapement in accordance with preconceived design.

III. On reviewing the arbitrarily separated group of metallic artifacts it is found clear (1) that the material is foreign; (2) that it is avidly sought and sedulously saved and utilized; (3) that it is wrought only by the crude methods used for fashioning the most primitive of implements and tools; and (4) that it is used chiefly as a substitute for organic substances employed in symbolic imitation of the natural organs and functions of animals. The significant features of the use of iron artifacts are (*a*) the absence of either alien or specialized designs, and (*b*) the mimicry of bestial characters as conceived in primitive philosophy.

Classed by material and motive jointly, the three groups are diverse in important respects: The first is local in material, local in motive; the second is local in material, foreign in design; the third is foreign in material, local in motive.

On recapitulating the several phases of Seri handicraft, the devices are found to fall into genetic classes of such sort as to illumine certain notable stages of primitive technic.

The initial class comprises teeth, beaks and mandibles, claws, hoofs, and horns, used in imitation or symbolic mimicry of either actual or imputed function of animals, chiefly those to which the organs pertain, together with vegetal spines and stalks or splints, used similarly under the zootheistic imputation of animal powers to plants; also carapaces and pelts, used as shields combining actual and symbolic protective functions. While this class of devices is well displayed by the Seri, it is by no means peculiar to them; clear vestiges of the devices have

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included a heavy Springfield "remodeled" rifle, lacking not only ammunition but breechblock and firing pin; while Don Andrés Noriega, of Costa Rica, and L. K. Thompson, of Hermosillo, described a rifle of modern make captured similarly two years before, which was in good working order and charged with a counterfeit cartridge ingeniously fashioned from raw buckskin in imitation of a center-fire brass shell and loaded with a polished stone bullet.[1] The finders opined that the rifles were carried to bluff the enemy, and even that the counterfeit cartridge was designed to do deadly execution; but it would better accord with Seri customs, and with the law of piratical acculturation which they typify,[2] to infer that the weapons were regarded rather as symbols of mystical potencies than as simple scarecrows. Of related import were two or three pseudomachetes made from rust-pitted cask hoops, reported by the majordomo and several vaqueros at Costa Rica; and of still greater significance was a machete picked up in a just-abandoned jacal by Don Ygnacio Lozania—veteran of the Andrade expedition and the Encinas conquest—which was laboriously rasped and scraped out of paloblanco wood, colored in imitation of iron blade and mahogany handle by means of face-paints, and even furnished with "eyes" replacing the handle-rivets, in the form of embedded iron scales. Some of the Seri are familiar with the normal use of firearms, as was demonstrated by the Robinson and other episodes, and many of them modernly make some use of machetes or other knives, as shown by various rudely whittled wooden artifacts; yet the burden of proof indicates that the chief use of the Caucasian's weapons in the heat of actual warfare is shamanistic and symbolic. This interpretation is, in fact, practically established by the experience of the frontier; for the vaqueros and local soldiery have little fear of the ill-understood firearms and clumsily handled machetes occasionally seen in Seri hands, though they dread unspeakably the necromantic arrows and flesh-rending teeth with which the agile foes are credited.

The mystical potency ascribed to Caucasian firearms and cutlery by the zoomimic tribesmen is of interest as a reflection of motives and methods pervading the entire range of their activities; at the same time it suggests the genesis of the aberrant technolithic craft displayed in arrow-chipping. The information obtained from Mashém and his mates concerning chipped arrowpoints implied that the process was hieratic and little understood by the body of the tribe, its place in the tribal knowledge, indeed, being similar to that of the brewing of the arrow "poison", which is the special work of shamans; and this information, comporting as it does with the rarity of the chipped points and

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[1] The imitative skill of the Seri was illustrated at Costa Rica some years ago, when the petty accounts for labor, etc, were kept by means of tokens stamped from sheet brass. While a Seri rancheria was maintained near the rancho, the storekeeper detected a number of counterfeits of his tokens, so well executed as to pass readily over the counter in ordinary exchange—and after extended detective work the counterfeiting was traced to the rancheria.

[2] American Anthropologist, vol. XI, August, 1898, pp. 243-248.

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the crudeness of the work, strongly supports the inference that the stone arrow-making of the Seri was originally a fetishistic mimicry of alien devices—a plane, indeed, above which the craft has hardly risen even in recent decades.

While the Seri are devoid of military tactics in the strict sense of the term, they have certain customs of warfare which seem to be scrupulously observed. These customs are closely akin to those followed in hunting the larger land animals—indeed, the warfare of the tribe is merely an intensified counterpart of their chase.

The favorite tactical device of the warriors, as indicated by the great majority of their battles, is the ambuscade, laid and sprung either with or without the aid of decoys (usually aged women). Sometimes a considerable body act in concert under a prearranged plan; more commonly a few warriors only are involved at the outset, though these may be joined as the crisis approaches by companions lurking behind rocks and shrubs to be either on hand at the finish or in the way of ready flight, according to the turn of the battle-tide; and it is probable that the greater part of the ambuscades prove stillborn by reason of the oozing courage of leaders and the shirking of their supporters if the prospective victims present a bold front, or if the final omens are otherwise adverse. The ambuscade, with its flying contingent, grades into the device of stalking a stationary or slowly moving enemy, the stealthy approach terminating either in covert attack at close range or in sudden rush by a superior force. The theory, or rather the instinctive plan, of the campaign is to seek advantage in both position and numbers, to keep under cover until the instant of attack, to have sure and ample lines of retreat, and in every way to minimize individual risk.

There is a widespread notion toward the Seri frontier that the savages are given to sorties and surprises by night; but both specific testimony and the records indicate, when carefully analyzed, that this tactical device is much less common in practice than in repute, and is not, indeed, characteristic of the tribe. A few known battles began in attacks by night; but the war parties, like the hunting and fishing parties (save in the semiceremonial pelican pilgrimages), display decided preference for daylight in their forays—indeed, there are various indications that the folk are much more timid and oppressed with superstitious fears by night than by day.

In rare cases small parties of aliens have been half openly surrounded and done to death by considerably larger parties of the savage folk; but this method, too, is incongruous with the fixed habits of the tribe and with the deep-planted instinct of avoiding personal exposure.

A considerable number of the long list of homicides charged against the Seri, and marking the beginning of many of their battles, were individual rather than collective, the consummation of inimical impulse sometimes treacherously concealed for favorable opportunity, as in the